Miangul Abdul Wadud Badshah Sahib,
Founder of Swat

Survey

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THE STORY OF SWAT

as told by the Founder

MIANGUL ABDUL WADUD BADSHAH SAHIB

to

MUHAMMAD ASIF KHAN

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Area and Situation:

Swat State covers an area of 4,000 square miles. It is bounded on the North by Chitral, on the West by Dir, on the South by Mardan District and on the East by Amb State and the River Indus. The River Swat runs through the middle of the entire territory for about eighty-six miles.

Physical Features:

Physically, it can be divided into the following four parts :

1. The beautiful and pleasant Valley of Swat.
2. The Valley of Kana and Ghorband, a dry mountainous region.
3. The Kohistan.
4. The dry plains of Buner.

Races:

The population of the Yusufzai State of Swat, as the name implies, is predominantly of the Yusufzai clan, yet certain other races also inhabit this region. The following is a racial analysis of its people:

1. The Yusufzai Pathans, who speak Pashto.
2. The Kohistanis who live in Kohistan. They

are not Afghans and they speak a dialect resembling 'Khodwari Hindko'.

3. 'Gujjars' : they are dairymen and agriculturists. They dwell mostly among the hills. They are bilingual, speaking Pashto and a local variation of 'Hindko'.

4. 'Parachas': they form the business community of the State and monopolize the trade. Living in towns and big villages, they are, as a class, law-abiding and devout Muslims.

The subjects of the State belong to different races ; but there is no racialism here—all are equal in the eyes of the Ruler and enjoy the same privileges : all are thankful to Badshah Sahib for having delivered them from the cruel khans under whom they had been living miserable lives for generations.

Historical Background:

The land of Swat, famous for its greenery and scenic beauty, has a long history behind it, reaching as far back as several centuries before Christ. That it has all along commanded a certain amount of fame and importance and, on the whole, has had a grand past, is evident from the ruins of ancient buildings and monuments scattered all over it. Old documents have established that Swat was a prosperous land at the time of Alexander's invasion of India in 326 B. C. It is said that the Buddhist ruler of Swat, opposed the great conqueror with an army thirty thousand strong but was discomfited. After his conquest of Iran, Alexander came via Kunar in Afghanistan into Swat with the intention of attacking India. He crossed the River Swat at a village called Bandai and encamped at the foot of a hill on its southern bank near Manglaur. Traversing a vast extent of difficult terrain, he crossed

the Par Dad of the Kalam Kohistanis - like Founding Father, or Patriarch He ruled in Barikot

the River Indus into the Punjab. Twenty-two years later when the famous Greek General, Seleucus, invaded India for the second time, he granted the areas of Swat and Buner to Chandragupta. The latter monarch left the people alone and allowed them complete religious freedom. After Chandragupta, came Raja Kanishka, (78—101 A.D.) who made Peshawar his capital and acquired control of Buner and Swat. The inhabitants of the areas, which were regarded as sacred places, were all Buddhists. Raja Kanishka, wearying of the affairs of state, often sought refuge here to pass a few days in rest and peace. The people of Swat were well-to-do and in generally affluent circumstances. There were hundreds of famous shrines, visited by countless pilgrims from distant lands every year.

Ram Raja was another important Buddhist ruler of Swat. His capital was Rani Gat (Khudu Khel), where a tank known as 'Ram Kund', a monument of his time, is still in existence. About 200 A.D., Swat and Buner were included in the kingdom of Raja Varath, whose capital was Takht Bhai. Like Raja Kanishka, Varath also came to Swat for a short recess yearly, and visited the temples to pray with the priests. He was followed by Raja Bheti. Among the Buddhist rulers after the last named, Raja Hodi deserves a special mention because six miles from Mingora down the road to Mardan there still exists a village in the State which is called Hodigram (Udigram) after his name. The last of these, Raja Gira, ruled over Swat till the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. On a hill near Udigram, he built a big cantonment, the ruins of which can be seen even today.

During the Buddhist period the calm and serene valley of Swat was regarded as a sacred place of pilgrimage. Along the banks of the River Swat, then

known as 'Sooto', there were thousands of temples and shrines whose fame had reached as far as Tibet, China and Japan, and devout Buddhists coming from thousands of miles away paid homage at them. The famous Chinese travellers who paid a visit to Swat in the olden days are the following:

1. In 403 A.D. Fa-Hien crossed into Swat via the Hindu Kush. He stayed here for quite a long time. In his account he mentions the religion of the people of these areas as Buddhism.
2. Song-Yun reached Swat by way of Kafiristan in 519 A.D. He writes that Buddhism was thriving here; so numerous and crowded were the monasteries and temples along the river 'Sooto' that the whole atmosphere echoed with the sound of their bells. The land was fertile, and agriculture was the main occupation of the people.
3. The famous Chinese visitor Hiuen Tsang came to Swat from Afghanistan in 630 A.D. He found Buddhism on the decline, with the result that most of the monasteries were untenanted. Praising the people of Swat, Hiuen Tsang says that they were courteous and hardworking.
4. Wiking was the last of the Chinese travellers. He arrived in 752 A.D. and became a monk in a monastery of Swat.

The traces of the Buddhist civilization of Swat are mostly found on the hills. The rulers constructed their palaces and forts at considerable heights in mountainous passes, which made them difficult to conquer. But at places their ruins also occur in the plains. For instance, from a mound near Manglaur carved stones

belonging to the period have been dug up in such quantity that many people have built their houses with them. The quality of stone work shows that sculpture was a very advanced art amongst the Buddhists of Swat. Statues are found cut in huge rocks, some of which are very difficult to reach; but shepherds have discovered them in their rambles among the hills. Recently on a hill adjoining Katelai, a village near Mingora, an ancient graveyard has been discovered in which earthen vessels have been unearthed along with the bones of the dead. Obviously, the graves do not belong to Muslims, who at no time have observed this custom. Quite likely it is an old Buddhist cemetery as the burying of a water-pitcher in the grave was a ritual amongst them.

In the days of the Third Caliph, Hazrat Usman, Khurasan was conquered by the Muslims and the population was soon converted to Islam. Its influence gradually spread to Afghanistan and, ultimately, the whole of it became Muslim. But Chitral, Dir and Swat were to remain heathen for some time longer.

In the beginning of the eleventh century, Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi assailed Swat from the north-west. Passing through Bajaur and Dir he halted in Shamozai. The Sultan formed two divisions of his army : one was despatched under the command of Ayaz to conquer Nikpi Khel, Shamozai and Shamizai and to spread Islam there ; the other led by the Sultan himself crossed over the river Swat to its southern bank and marched triumphantly towards Hodigram (Udigram). Gira fortified himself in the cantonment at the top of the adjacent hill. The youthful Commander-in-Chief of the invaders, Khushal Khan, who was deputed to take the fortress, experienced great difficulties in his task. Luckily he came to know about the under ground channel for carrying water to the town. By

cutting the supply of water, he forced the garrison to fight. The besiegers broke through all opposition in a severe attack and attained the height, after which it was easy to defeat Gira. But the victorious army suffered heavy losses. Khushal Khan himself fell a martyr in the battle of Gira. This victory proved a death-blow to the already decadent Buddhism in Swat. The graves of Khushal Khan, famous as Ghazi Baba, and of other martyrs of the battle still exist and people come to pay reverence to them.

After the defeat of Raja Gira the Buddhist population of Swat, which did not accept Islam, found shelter among the hills. With the Sultan was Yahya, the chief of the Dilazak tribe of Pathans, with his people, and a number of Swati Pathans. Sultan Mahmud granted the whole of the Valley of Swat to the Dilazaks and the *Swati Pathans, who settled down there for good.

Thus was Islam introduced into Swat. The two tribes lived peacefully for some time. Mutual differences having developed between them, in 1024 A.D. the Swatis drove the Dilazaks out of Swat. The latter took refuge in the districts of Mardan and Peshawar. But hardly three centuries had elapsed before the Swatis were in their turn deprived of their new homeland by the Yusufzais.*

Before proceeding to trace the historical events of the arrival of the Yusufzais in Swat, I should like to

*Swati Pathans were at the outset settled along the bank of the River Kurram in Shilman from where they migrated to Tirah, later to Hashtnagar and finally landed in Swat with Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi. In the history of 'Afghan Digan' as well, they have been mentioned as the old inhabitants of Shilman. Being driven out by the Yusufzais from their homes in the Valley of Swat they crossed the River Indus and settled down in 'Alai' where they still live. Linguistically and culturally, they are Pathans and it is wrong to suppose that they are Tajiks.

establish the etymology of the word 'Swat'. One of the theories advanced suggests that 'Swat' is a combination of two Sanskrit words: 'Soo' and 'at', meaning that which shines like the sun. Others maintain that the word is a changed form of 'Swad'. In Greek history Swat has been named as 'Assaceni', probably derived from Sanskrit word 'Asva', which means horsemanship. The great Muslim historian, Muhammad Qasim Farishta, in his history of India writes that at the time of Sultan Mahmud's invasion Swat and Bajaur were known as 'Qirat Nar Deen'. If Farishtas' account is to be believed, and there is no reason to the contrary, the land lying between Landakai and Kalam was named Swat in the eleventh century, after the name of its inhabitants who belonged to the Swati tribe of the Pathans. This theory is further confirmed by the fact that areas across the River Indus have come to be known as Swat since the Swatis, following their expulsion from Swat Valley, took refuge there.

The Pathan race is divided into several tribes, and the Yusufzai tribe, which has been settled in Swat and the adjoining areas for the last four hundred years, is one of the most respectable and powerful tribes amongst them. The Yusufzais originally came from 'Gara' and 'Naushki' situated on the verge of Desert Lot in Sistan.

Ethnologically, the Pathans belong to the same race as Khalid Bin Valid, the great Muslim general and well known companion of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him). At the time of Khalid's conversion, the Afghans lived in Kohistan Ghor. When the message of Islam reached the Afghans, they, in pursuance of their age-long custom, called a national *jirga*, in which after prolonged deliberation it was decided to send a delegation of prominent Afghans under the leadership of Qais to Medina to wait upon the

Prophet of God (peace be upon him). The interview ended in all the members of the delegation being converted to Islam. The Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) was overjoyed and gave Qais the name of 'Abdur Rashid', and also bestowed the title of 'Malik' on him. 'Malik' was the title of the first king of the Israelites, Talo'. The Afghan delegation lived in Medina for some time, during which Khalid gave his daughter in marriage to Qais Abdur Rashid. When the delegation left the city on its way back to Kohistan Ghor, the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) addressed Qais with the words "Haza Batanay Deen". Some historians believe that the word 'Pathan' is a corrupt variation of 'Batan' ; but there is no authority for this belief. Whether Pathans are Aryans or Israelites is a separate question outside the scope of this short account of the genealogy of Pathans, which is only intended to state that the history of the Yusufzais goes back fourteen hundred years to Qais Abdur Rashid and Khalid Bin Valid.

Qais had three sons : Sorbon, Batin and Ghor Ghast. Yusufzai, Muhammadzai, Mohmand, Daudzai and Gigiani tribes are all descendants of Sorbon. The genealogical tree of the Yusufzais is that they descend from Yusuf, son of Mand, son of Khakhey, son of Kand, son of Kharshbun, son of Sorbon, son of Qais Abdur Rashid. The other son of Mand is the ancestor of the Mandanr tribe which has always fought side by side with the Yusufzais, being their blood cousins. The population of the Yusufzais multiplied fast, till now they claim to be the largest among the Afghan tribes. Their Pashto is regarded as the purest and best. Amongst themselves they are further subdivided into three branches :

1. Akozais in Swat
2. Nolizais in Buner

3. Malizais in Dir.

Besides these places, members of the Yusufzai tribe are found in great number scattered all over India, particularly in Farrukhabad, Karnal, Rampur State, Rohilkhand, Bareilli, and Bhopal State. The ruling family of Rampur State deserves special mention. The valiant and heroic Nawab of Tonk, Amir Muhammad Khan, also belonged to the tribe, originally coming from 'Elai', a famous village in Buner. The Yusufzais are a tribe which has produced many men of greatness and fame.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century B.C., the Yusufzai tribe established itself as an organised and strong tribe. Mirza Ulugh Beg, the son of Mir Abu Said and uncle of the Emperor Babur, sought the help of the Yusufzais in occupying the throne of Kabul, which being made available, he became the ruler of the city. Being the king-makers, the Yusufzais exercised great influence at Court. Soon the Mughal fugitives who had been hiding among the hills started pouring into the city, and they did not like the hold of an alien tribe over a Mughal king. They succeeded in turning Mirza Ulugh Beg against them, taunting him with the charge that his rule was utterly at the mercy of the Yusufzais. Ultimately they provoked the turncoat king to march in arms against them. Though taken unawares, they defeated him but did not proceed to dethrone the ungrateful king. Ulugh Beg having failed in military action against them, cleverly tried to win back the confidence of the Yusufzais. This renewed the friendly relations between the two and the latter again started attending the Court at Kabul. The King conspired with others to have the entire tribe wiped out at one stroke. In pursuance of a well thought-out plan, he invited the prominent chiefs of the Yusufzais to a dinner in the palace. While the feast was in progress, Ulugh Beg's men fell on them

Ghorband were annexed. Coincidently, the exiled khans of Buner who were in my party and were residing at Saidu Sharif called on me to lead them in an attack on Buner. I replied that being weak at the moment we were not in a position to undertake the venture and should rather proceed tactfully about it. I asked them to put forward their demand in a general *jirga*, and on its being turned down by me return to Buner in seeming anger. This, I told them, would entice the opposite party into believing that we had fallen out with each other and might even result in the dismissal of the army of Amb from Buner, making it easier for us to assail it. They carried out my instructions to the letter without giving the slightest clue of our real intentions to the opponents. Being assured of a disruption between me and my Bunerwal friends, the supporters of the Nawab of Amb, the only political opposition in the area, called him to withdraw his force from their land. The lashkar which was encamped in Buner after its retreat from Mt. Karakar, had, therefore, to march back to Amb.

So far Swat Kohistan was neither included in my domain nor did I think of subjugating it. A delegation of prominent Kohistanis waited on me with the request that their region should be merged in the State. The times were such that even for voluntary merger a show of might was necessary, and being absorbed in preparations for Buner undertaking, I expressed inability to comply with their wish, as my hands were already too full. But they would not take no for an answer and refused to leave without the lashkar. Desiring to gain their hearts, I sent my Commander-in-Chief with a detachment, but privately coached him to come away on some pretext. At Bahrain they decided that having travelled so far nothing could be easier than to occupy it. Without obtaining my

permission, they beset the town but were repulsed. They now realised their mistake and called for reinforcements. There being no quick means of communication, the message took too long to reach me and, consequently, the relief force was delayed by many days. In the meantime the Kohistanis wreaked their vengeance on the Swati soldiers who had retired to a hill nearby, so much so that all of them with their commander were about the be killed when the rescue luckily arrived, and the enemy lashkar was put to flight. Thus we occupied Bahrain, a very strategic town of Kohistan, and fortified it well as usual.

Had the reinforcement not arrived in time, none of my men could have escaped death, in which case the situation would have been the reverse. The Commander-in-Chief had acted arbitrarily, assailed a stronghold of the enemy without my prior assent, and his error of judgement had endangered the lives of hundreds. Yet I did not take him to task for that, only reprimanded him to be more careful in future.

In 1923 we began making preparations for the conquest of Buner. The Political Agent of Malakand heard of our activities and despatched a Political Tehsildar to Saidu Sharif to confirm the news. The officer who arrived from Malakand happened to be antagonistic to me and I dared not let my secret out to him. To his question whether I was seriously planning to invade Buner, I vaguely answered that we were too weak to do so but the Nawab of Amb by leading his army into Buner every now and then and inciting the people there had forced me to take some precautionary measures to ward off the danger that he presented to my government, and that I would march into Buner at all hazards unless the Political Agent intervened and checked him from his malicious designs. I gave this

with all speed, the Nikpi Khels beat the insurgents completely and delivered the relief party from their detention. Together they advanced towards Chamla to help the besieged army of Swat.

Our combined force was encamped at Sura. The *Vazir* wrote to me that he intended to launch an attack the following day. The letter was delayed on the way. When it reached me at last, I directed him to try to take the enemy in the rear and force him to start the battle, for it was tactically wrong to engage at the same place again after suffering defeat once. Before receiving my instructions, many times did the *Vazir* decide to take the field but God made him change his mind at the last minute. He got the message and in pursuance of my suggestion took up his position at the back of the rival army. The enemy supply-line was disconnected and they could not but attack us. A pitched battle was fought in which the Nawab's lashkar was beaten hollow and put to such rout that the valley of Chamla and Khudu Khel fell into our hands. Many Tehsils were established in the area, each having a capable person as Tehsildar, assisted by other officials, several forts were built and garrisoned strongly. The victorious army of Swat then came back to Saidu Sharif. Our defence in Buner was so complete that the Nawab of Amb could never muster up courage to invade Buner again. This battle also shattered the hopes of Sayyid Jabbar Shah, once for all. Though secretly continuing to plan mischief, henceforth he dared not come into the open.

Tidings were now brought that the poeple of Kana and Chakesar had thrown in their lot with the Nawab of Amb and were constantly engaged in conspiring against me. I exhorted them to refrain from these indiscreet practices, but to no avail. Of the two influential personages of Kana and Chakesar, Amir

Khan and Pir Dad Khan, who were my friends, the latter happened to be in Saidu Sharif. When I began mobilising for the invasion of these areas, he counselled me to fall upon Chakesar first, which, though stronger, was more vulnerable than Kana. Acting on his friendly advice, I sent out a strong force apparently to conquer Kana but in fact to assail Chakesar from the side of Ghorband. Our scheme worked and the sudden appearance of the Swat army was a bolt from the blue for the people there. We caught them unprepared; they surrendered without lifting a hand. After strengthening the defence of the area, the army marched on Kana. Victory could not be obtained so easily here as in case of Chakesar, yet we conquered it, too, before long.

Kana borders upon Indus Kohistan, which was militarily powerful at that time. It was necessary to administer it so that it may be safe from the Kohistanis. I, therefore, appointed the son of Amir Khan the Tehsildar-cum-Subedar of Pir-Khana Tehsil of Kana, and commissioned him to recruit one hundred soldiers. The rest of Kana was put under the joint-charge of Pir Dad Khan as the Tehsildar and his son as the Subedar. Both these families had great influence in the area, and the arrangements proved adequate and effective.

A word about Indus Kohistan in the east of Swat. There is a range of high mountains running north-south. The people inhabiting the hills, valleys and passes of this mountainous terrain are hardy and industrious. Their culture and language differ from those of the Pathans: they speak a dialect somewhat akin to that of Chitral; their rough and primitive way of life has undergone little change since the time they first settled there. In physique the Kohistanis are taller and stouter than Swatis. The land of this

freedom-loving race proud of its independence, which it had enjoyed for hundreds of years reaching as far back as the Buddhist Period, maybe farther than that, though nothing is known with certainty of that time.

Although under no regular authority, the people had harmony and unity amongst them. They had established an indigenous democratic type of government congenial to their circumstances. The elders of the ruling body lived in a town, called Pattan, which was a sort of capital of the region; their orders were the laws of the land. The Kohistani militia comprised twelve thousand men, all of whom were brawny stalwarts. Obviously, there could not be any question of our subjugating the area, rather the redoubtable neighbour was a source of constant dangers of the new State. Simple and artless by nature, the Kohistanis could be easily misled by others. So we found ourselves standing on a volcanoe; yet I was not prepared to fall foul of them, and carried on the *status quo*. To be safe from harassment by them, I followed a policy of appeasement. Through prominent persons of Kana and other areas on the border of Kohistan, I assured them that they had nothing to fear from us, and their suspicions were baseless, for we had no designs upon them and were, on the contrary, determined to have no concern with them unless they liked to join Swat of their own free will or themselves broke the peace by marching into our territory. As the Kohistanis behaved themselves and respected our boundaries, we were able to carry on together well for some time.

Side by side with my military manoeuvres and undertakings, my diplomatic management of affairs was also greatly successful. I established personal relations with prominent and influential people of the annexed territories; selected suitable men for different jobs and inspired them to put in their best, enlisted

from all areas even-tempered, honest and loyal persons who put service above self, in my circle of close friends. I always respected their sincere opinions and counsels; even if I thought them unsound and disadvantageous at times, I never adopted a superior attitude, instead, won them over to my point of view by reasoning and a discussion of the pros and cons in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. Quite early in my career I had realised that deference shown to true friends and faithful workers, besides being a gentlemanly act and a kingly attribute, pays high dividends. Moreover, I liked to have persons of eminence and authority as my friends, all of whom I prized as a valuable treasure of life.

In between the campaigns I took adventure of every suspension of hostilities, however short, to order and organize the affairs of the State. As mentioned earlier, means of communication were given top priority. A network of roads and highways connecting each village with other neighbouring villages and with the central town of the area, was laid throughout the length and breadth of the State. The people of Swat learnt for the first time to walk on a road; conveyance of goods by mules and horses was rendered easy; a highway was constructed from Saidu Sharif to Malakand for wheeled traffic. Next was the establishment of a telecommunications system throughout the State; telephone lines were taken to all the Tehsils and forts. By now almost every area had a Tehsil, and every important village or town a fort. A number of soldiers commanded by a Subedar were stationed in a fort; a Tehsildar was in charge of a Tehsil and had a staff of several hands to assist him. The forts served the same purpose as Police posts do nowadays, but in fighting were used for defence as well, and it increased their strategic importance greatly. The Subedars were responsible for keeping law and order within their juris-

various parties and movements were shaking the British Government of the country to the very foundations, signs were evident that the edifice of Imperia rule was going to topple. Conversely, for Swat State the year of Lord Irwin's visit was the time when the foundations of a beneficient rule were laid firm and deep.

CONSOLIDATION AND DEVELOPMENT

I

A break in the military undertakings afforded me time to organize an administrative machinery in the State. The following steps were taken :

1. With a view to winning their favour and loyalty, allowances were granted to the khans and other important persons throughout the State.
2. The practice of paying to the khan one-third of the amount realised as fines for the crimes committed in the area was confirmed. Thus the interests of the State and of the khan became one, and kept him from taking sides with the wrong-doer.
3. In deference to their piety and nobility of birth, allowances were also granted to the members of respectable Sayyid and Mian families of the State.
4. Molvis who were Imams and gave religious instruction in mosques were given monthly salaries, so that they could do their work whole-heartedly. Other Molvis were employed as paid Qazis.
5. In order to provide the people with conditions in which they could live in pursuance of the tenets of Islam, Qazis were appointed throughout the length and breadth of the State. Whoever so willed could have his

suit decided according to the *Shariat*. A Qazi was appointed in every village to save the people the trouble of travelling long distances to Tehsils. At each Tehsil, too, a Qazi was posted, who besides dealing with the cases of the Tehsil acted as a court of appeal for the decisions of the village Qazi. With every Hakim, in charge of two or three Tehsils, a Qazi was attached and formed a higher court of appeal. In Saidu Sharif, the capital of the State, a supreme court of Islamic Judicature was established, where a bench of one Chief Qazi and two learned scholars adjudged serious cases, and constituted the highest court of appeal.

6. A copy of the laws agreed upon by the people of the area was kept in every Tehsil ; and all were free to opt between the Islamic and the regional codes for the decision of their cases.

7. All subjects of the State were exempted from payment of court fees ; instead, printed forms and stamped papers, bearing the picture of the fort as the seal of government and valued at one anna, were supplied by the State Treasury to all courts and Tehsils for filing suits and petitions. A clerk was appointed to every court and a Tehsil whose duty was to write the applications of the people free of charge.

8. Swat being the land of a warlike people, it was befitting that the flag of the State should bear the picture of the fort, which played so important a part in their national life ; therefore I adopted it as the insignia of Swat State.

In view of the fact that the Swatis were mostly poor, my efforts were directed to setting up a judicial system which allowed rich and poor an easy redress without the necessity of incurring any expenditure, and was free of red tape. God be praised, who enabled me to evolve a system that met these requirements, yet was different from the one followed in the rest of the country.

Official recognition by the British Government facilitated the work of reconstruction. First I undertook to connect different parts of the State by roads. The roads which had been built so far were mainly tracks for horses and mules, except the motor road from Mingora to Malakand. First class modern roads built at this time were as follows :

1. Mingora-Madyan Road
2. Mingora-Pirbaba (Buner) Road : Across the rocky Mt. Karakar this road was difficult to build, but with God's help we succeeded in completing it.
3. Buner was brought in direct communication with Mardan when a road was made from Pirbaba to the State boundary.
4. The work of road-building necessarily involved the construction of a number of bridges; some of them were :—

   (a) An, enormous wooden bridge which joined the areas lying north and south of the river, was constructed over the River Swat at about two miles from Mingora. This bridge is a feat of engineering illustrative of Pathan architecture. A truck carrying fifty maunds of load can easily pass over it.*

*This bridge has recently been replaced by a concrete bridge.

(b) Shamizai was joined to the areas across the river by an iron bridge at Pulderai.

(c) Towards the close of my rule I built an iron bridge over the Swat River at Madyan.

5. Besides these main roads, a network of side roads and by-ways was laid in various parts of the State. Most of the roads and bridges have been improved since, during the reign of my successor, Miangul Jahan Zeb.

It has been mentioned elsewhere that every now and then I extended invitations to certain notables and important persons of Kohistan to partake of my hospitality. I welcomed them warmly when they came and presented them with valuable gifts and expensive robes. This kindly gesture won me a number of friends in the area. Many of the rival khans who were afraid of losing their prestige if Kohistan ever joined the State, did not like to be left behind. They were, therefore, the first to approach me with the request that their land be merged in the State. I at once sent for my Kohistani friends to endorse their application. Both groups unanimously demanded that an army should be sent for the conquest of Kohistan. In deference to their wishes, I despatched a strong force with them. Three of the principal passes—Duber, Ranulia and Bankat—were occupied in this assault.

Proper measures for the defence and administration of the areas having been completed, the Swat Army returned to Saidu Sharif. Indus Kohistan was still an independent territory. Its capital, Pattan, was the stronghold of the Kohistanis and the headquarters of their organisation. Unless it was conquered, Kohistan could not securely be held in occupation; but it was a hard nut to crack. I had hardly any friends

in Pattan, for whoever called on me once was harassed in various ways so that others dared not follow suit. Moreover, the Kohistanis were in conspiracy with the Nawab of Amb and secretly undermined our interests by their joint intrigues. There being no alternative, I was forced to take the town at all costs. So, when the few friends I had there next visited me in Saidu Sharif, I sent a formidable army along with them for the purpose. Here I cannot help admitting that the energy and speed with which my men rushed Pattan was a miraculous performance, which deserves all praise. They covered a distance of one hundred and fifty miles on foot over the rough, and rocky tract of Kohistan and across many a snow-covered mountain in a matter of three days. Their achievement, I believe, stands by itself, for it was, to say the least, superhuman. They were probably inspired by a desire to further the cause of their homeland and to promote its interests. Immediately on their arrival they launched a concentrated attack and scored a swift victory.

The fall of Pattan was the end of the might of Kohistan, which subsequently became a part of Swat State. Because not even a proper animal track existed in the area, work at building a road which connected it with the rest of the State started simultaneously with the construction of the Pattan fort. By the time the latter was complete, through line of communication had also been established. The whole work had been done so quickly that the victorious army travelled along the newly-made road with all its equipage on its return journey. Indeed, it was another feat of efficiency and hard work by Swati soldiers who were now thoroughly trained and fully disciplined to shoulder responsibilities and despatch undertakings.

For the administrative control of Kohistan I employed men from Kana to garrison its forts and appointed my friends amongst the local population officers, with Dost Muhammad Khan of Kana as the Commanding Officer. As usual, annual allowances were awarded to all persons of consequence, and monthly salaries were paid to the Molvis and Qazis. Thus gaining their goodwill by love and kindness, I made them taste the benefits of an efficient government.

Pattan was the heart of the whole region and its subjugation led to the voluntary merger of other areas; Seo was the first to join the State and was closely followed by Kandia. Eventually, instead of my being desirous of annexing them, people of adjoining lands were more eager to come within my domain and gain the advantages of an established rule with the rest. How eager some of them really were, would be evident from one example : the people of Kandia co-operated in the work of laying communication line so zealously that I could talk to them on telephone in the evening of the same day the contingent was despatched to annex it. Alai and Tangeer Pass, areas across the River Indus, also applied for being included in the State ; but the British Government intervened and forbade me to grant their request.

Analysing in retrospect the cause of the eagerness of these areas to accept my authority, I feel that the time was ripe for the establishment of a popular and powerful government, to which further incentive was given by the kind and equitable treatment the rich and the poor alike received on becoming my subjects. Absence of a central authority had resulted in lawlessness and anarchy, occasioning a state of civil war amongst the people and making the weak an easy prey to the strong. Naturally, they jumped at the

opportunity which promised to free them from these abnormal conditions of life, and rushed to share the good fortune of their neighbours who were living peacefully under my beneficial rule.

Many times in the early days of the struggle and incessant expeditions, when prospects looked gloomy and disappointing, I had dreams which proved to be revelations of the future and infused in me a new spirit. I have already narrated one such dream and shall here relate a few others. But, perhaps, I should first state that I am not ignorant of modern psychological theories about dreams that they are nothing but involuntary reproduction in one's mind of the day's thoughts and actions or, worse still, are caused by a bad digestion. To some dreams, rather to dreams of some persons, this explanation might apply, but a number of my dreams have certainly been true and have foreshadowed coming events. At a time when I was facing unending troubles in the self-assigned task of rehabilitating my people, I regarded these dreams as intimations of divine help, and they were doubly blessed, for they encouraged me, on the one hand, and assured me that God was with me, on the other. Yet I do not have any pretensions whatever to being a saintly person possessed of supernatural powers. As they have played an important part at many a crisis of life, I cannot but mention some of them.

During the Kohistan campaign a severe battle was being fought at Lahor. We were in a precarious condition : an attack by the Nawab of Dir was imminent. One morning I got up earlier than usual, offered prayers and recited the Holy Quran, after which I dozed off. I dreamed that a person came to me, uttered a Persian phrase meaning "wind has swept away the sorrow" and disappeared. On

waking up, I told Movi Jamil of Toru that my army would come out victorious in the battle. Later we learned that success was achieved exactly at the time of my dream. Was it anything other than divine inspiration? Kohistan being devoid of means of communication could not be reached in less than four days.

On another occasion, we were fighting the last battle of Adinzai with our backs to the wall. I was encamped at the Nal fort, when I had a dream one night. I saw myself standing on a rock near Pulderai: a huge stone was hanging dangerously right over me. All of a sudden, the rock under me started turning into sand. Faced with two dangers, I stood there aghast for I was sure to die if the stone overhead fell on me or the one underneath melted completely. To my extreme horror, the overhanging stone moved and began slipping down solwly towards me. As it came near my waist, I held it firm to the rock with my back; the rock on which I was standing also stopped turning into sand. Though safe, I wondered how to get out of the situation. At last to see what I could do, I struck my right hand against the rock. Surprisingly, it held fast and with an upward push of the body I was able to climb the rock above me. There I found some men who came forward to grapple with me: but I overpowered them all. Although we were experiencing serious difficulties in Adinzai, this dream assured me of ultimate victory, and very rightly, because we were successful in the battle.

Once again was I staying at the Nal fort, engaged in persuading the people of Puran, Chakesar and Alai who had jointly launched an offensive on Mukhozai, to withdraw to their homes. One night in a dream I saw a flag fixed in a field outside the fort, fluttering

in the wind. Suddenly it was uprooted and started floating in the air. I saw it cross the tops of the hills and settle down in Ghorband. I woke up and thanked God for what I had seen. To me it was a prophecy that my flag was soon to be hoisted in all of these areas; and true enough, the battle of Mukhozai brought them under my control.

urgent matters, I was not totally unmindful of the educational needs of the people during this time. No sooner was a territory annexed to the State than I appointed learned Molvis to instruct the people in Islamic theology and to teach them to read and write. Stress on religious instruction was necessary then, for the Swatis had little knowledge of the religion they practised, so much so that they did not even observe the sanctity of the mosque. Secondly, before receiving education on western lines, people had to be prepared emotionally and mentally to accept it, and, under favourable conditions, to want it. On the suggestion of my son, Miangul Jahan Zeb, I founded a Dar-ul-Ulum at Saidu Sharif, with a branch at Charbagh, for advanced studies in all Islamic subjects. Reputable scholars were engaged as teachers, and all expenses of the students on board and lodging and books were borne by the State. Both these institutions have not only served the inhabitants of Swat as sacred fountains of knowledge, but people from the Frontier region and Afghanistan as well have drunk at them. Religious instruction proved a great help in eradicating superstitions, innovations and other wrong beliefs.

Later, I opened one high school, named the Wadudia High School, at Saidu Sharif, and one middle school at Barikot. Most of the officers and employees of the State are *alumni* of these institutions. Similarly, a great majority of the doctors now working in the State, and of the educated persons among the public received their early education at the Wadudia High School. Highly qualified and well-known educationists of the former Frontier and Punjab provinces have taught at this school. Therefore, it will not be wrong to say that the Wadudia High School has played an important role in the educational progress of the State and has contributed immensely to the making of the new Swat. In 1952 the Jahanzeb

College was built on the site of the school which was closed down. Since his accession to the throne, my successor, the present Wali, has opened many new schools: Saidu Sharif and Mingora have two high and two middle schools. The number of institutions in the State is now adequate.

In my time I established three big hospitals in the State: two hospitals at Saidu Sharif and one at Daggar. Later, my successor while expanding them, equipped them with modern facilities for surgery. Persons running chemists' shops and Unani clinics in different parts of the State were given an efficiency test; those who qualified were permitted to practise, but the rest who were mere quacks, were forbidden to play dangerously with the lives of the public. My son has greatly added to the number of hospitals in the State.

Pashto is the mother tongue and regional language of the Pakhtoons. Being a Pakhtoon myself, I love it and am interested in its development, but in no way does it imply that I am prejudiced against other languages or deny their importance. On coming into authority, I delcared Pashto to be the official language of the State and adopted the Urdu script as the style of writing. Special forms and registers were prepared in Pashto for use in offices and courts. Both officials and the public were directed to employ simple, everyday language in all their writings, and express themselves briefly and to the point; especially avoiding lengthy salutations and adulatory phrases. Experience proved that I had decided rightly: Yusufzai Pathans of Swat find it convenient to conduct their personal and official business in Pashto.

Desiring to promote the cause of Pashto, I enquired into the circumstances which had resulted in its present unpopularity, and found that (1) it was deprived of

official patronage; (2) the general appearance and get-up of the Pashto books was much below the mark. For business reasons they were printed on paper of the worst quality and were mostly paper-bound, with the result that nobody liked to buy them. with the alternative thousands of attractive English and Urdu books to choose from. In Swat Pashto was receiving due patronage. To make up for the deficiency of good books in Pashto, I published Pashto translations of a number of standard books at my own expense. Some of them were as follows :

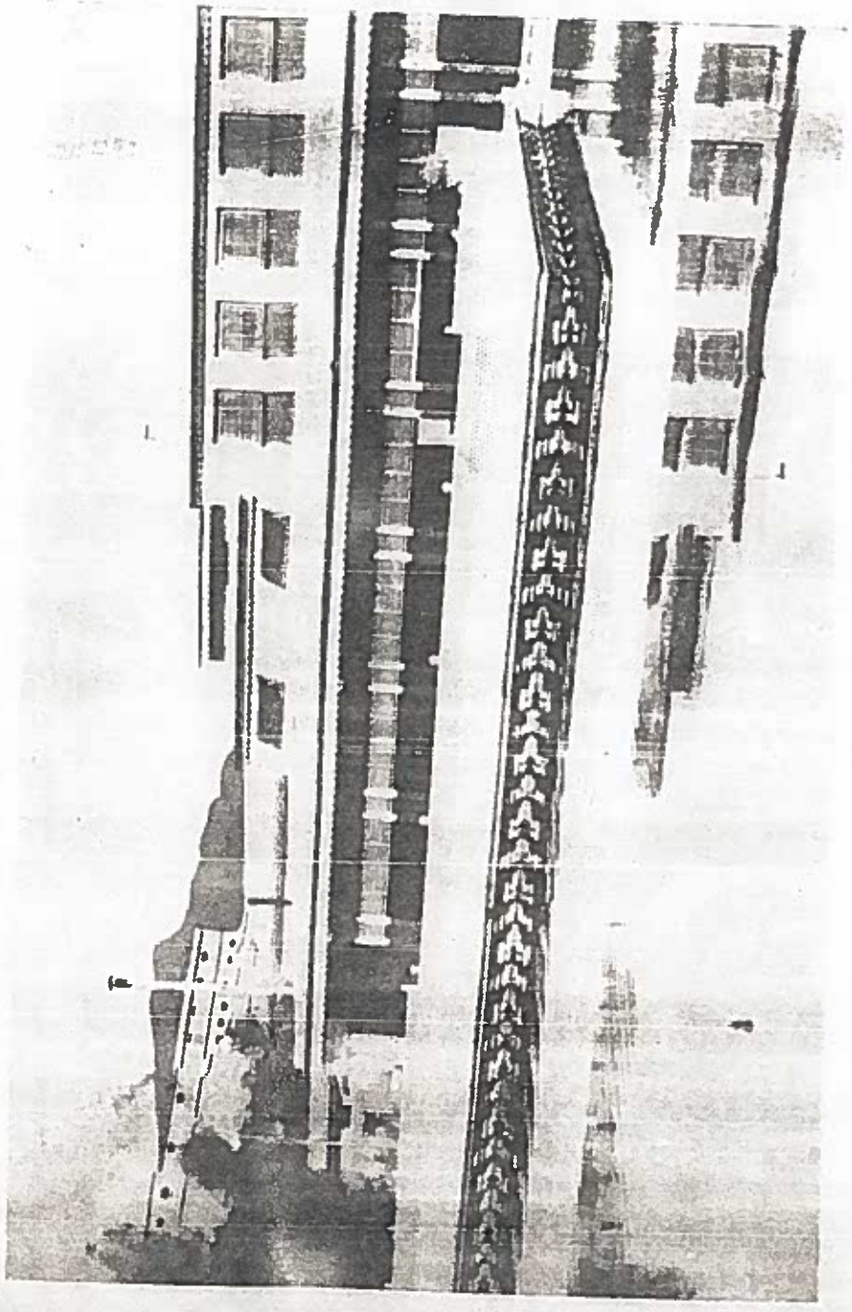
1. The famous Sanskrit classic 'Panj Tantar', known as 'Kalela Damna' in Persian, translated into Pashto as 'Anwar Sohaili'.
2. Complete translation in two volumes of the stupendous work of Muhammad Qasim Farishta covering Indian history up to Akbar, along with the later events up to the British period translated from other historical books.
3. 'Fatawai-Wadudia, Part I', 500 pp., has been compiled by me in Pashto. It states the basic precepts of Islamic theology which every Muslim must know.

   'Fatawai-Wadudia, Part II', 600 pp., is a guide for courts. It states all social and religious matters in very simple language. It can also be called a book on the Islamic law of evidence. The second volume serves as a comprehensive reference book for the Qazis and they are often obliged to consult it. Both the volumes are very useful to students of religion.
4. Mizan-us-Sarf is a book of grammar and has been published in Persian for the students of the 'Dar-ul-Ulum'.

Both these books were nicely printed on superior paper and thousands of copies were distributed free of cost among the educated people to create interest in Pashto books.

In formulating the procedure of work in offices and courts, I was guided by two considerations: that the time of the public should not be wasted in unnecessary delay in settling matters and deciding cases and that no one should face monetary difficulties while pursuing his claim or application in an office or in taking his case to a court of law. I issued peremptory instructions that cases should be decided with the utmost despatch and people should not be harassed by frequent postponement in the award of judgements. Though I hardly ever interfered in the official duties of my officers, neither were they free to misuse their authority, and they were under continuous surveillance. There was no secret service of the State as in British India, yet I had the means of keeping myself informed of the efficiency and integrity of every individual official and he dared not accept a bribe or practise injustice and harassment. Day to day news about the condition of the public also reached me. Officers of the State were shown regard due to their rank, but good work alone was generously praised and handsomely rewarded.

Anyone can wear a crown, yet how few can keep it: authority corrupt, alone can but combined with wealth it can be disastrous for then the attraction of worldly pleasures becomes too strong to resist and one indulges in them and precipitates one's own downfall. I am most thankful to God for His divine help in saving me from following the path of other rulers and leading a life of luxury and dissipation. I spent all my time in attending to my duties as Ruler, and by cons-



A view of the Aqba Palace

celebrate Islamic festivals with befitting enjoyment and gaiety, such days were declared closed days, for I believe that observance of festivals can be a means of inculcating a sense of national honour in a people, provided, of course, due care is taken in keeping them from becoming occasions for licentiousness and unrestrained expenditure. And I was on guard against such practices.

The magnificent Jamia Masjid at Saidu Sharif is a monument to my reign ; the major portion of the Saidu town, the palaces at Aqba, courts, old bungalows of Vazirs and Advisers, State Guest House, the alms-house, military offices, public-gardens at Saidu Sharif, and the Wali's residence were all constructed during my reign. Moreover, the picturesque and beautiful White Palace at Murghzar along with the attached guest house, the rest houses at Miandam top and at Ambela in Buner—the former has recently been demolished—the grand bungalow of the Hakim of Daggar are the edifices of my time.

The names of a number of towns and villages in Swat proper and its dependencies were crude and ill-sounding. I changed some of them—Madyan, Bahrain Fatehpur, Murghzar, Aqba are newly-given names, but those which had any bearing on the past history were retained as such. To do so was repugnant to me for it spoke of narrow-mindedness ; those who erase the marks left by others eventually have theirs erased in turn. As a matter of fact, enlightened and high-minded rulers instead of destroying the memorials of others leave behind themselves lasting memories of their noble deeds which outshine all achievement of the past. Hence names like Guligram, Pajigram, Dangram, Udigram are still come across in Swat ; and the old historical ruins at these places have also been properly looked after.

The beautiful Valley of Kalam was, on the express wish of its people, appended to the State towards the end of my rule.

To give a resume of the main events of my life from 1915 to 1948, divided into different periods—(1) 1915—1931: during these sixteen years I was mainly engaged in waging wars, expanding the bounds of the State, and establishing the government on a firmer basis administratively and financially; (2) 1931—1940: it was the period when State finances were built up considerably and money was available for works of public welfare, a number of which were undertaken at this time; (3) 1940—1948: these were the years of World War II, when in common with the rest of the country, we faced the problem of finding cloth and food for the people, and I am glad to record here that I neither let my subjects suffer acutely for lack of these things nor allowed a few selfish persons to take undue advantage of the extraordinary conditions then prevailing. Throughout the duration of my authority, I was averse to both taxing my people unfairly to fill the coffers of government, and providing others with opportunities to rob them by unjust increase in prices of the necessities of life.

In the tussle between the Muslim League and the Congress for political supremacy in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent my sympathies were naturally with the former, for I was convinced of its sincerity in promoting the cause of the Indian Muslims. Being the Ruler of six lac Muslims, it was inevitable for me to join forces with the Muslim League and render it all material and moral support. Without any intention of blowing my own trumpet or boasting of the help which I gave to the

Muslim leaders at different occasions, I would mention some of my services here:

1. I sent my personal envoys to the tribal areas and the districts of the former Frontier Province at the time of Referendum and instructed the devotees of Sahib of Swat in those parts, on whom I exercised great moral and spiritual influence, to vote for Pakistan.
2. Learning that the Muslim League was in need of money for the expenses of the Referendum, I presented the party's leaders with one lac and ten thousand rupees in cash.
3. Immediately on its establishment I was the first Ruler to accede to Pakistan.
4. I donated two lacs of rupees to the Quaid-e-Azam Relief Fund.
5. A total sum of eight lacs of rupees was donated to different funds of the country.
6. The annual grant-in-aid paid to the State by the British Government, though ours by right, was voluntarily renounced so that it could be spent to meet the needs of the country.
7. On a request by Major-General Iskander Mirza, the then Defence Secretary, through my son I bought a fighter plane for the Pakistan Air Force at the cost of one lac and twenty-five thousand rupees, and named it 'Jahan Zeb'.
8. During the fight for the independence of Kashmir, Captain Abdur Rashid of Thana, who was the Commander of a band of

Indians, *hum log chala jai ga, tum ek dusrei ko marei ga, phir ham ko yad karei ga*". Anyway, in 1947, these vain-glorious trumpeters departed once for all. Yet by forming a British Commonwealth of Nations they have kept a finger in the pie. England still serves as a sort of paternal home for the nations newly liberated from the British rule.

But as a nation of hardworking, united, disciplined and enterprising people, the British are without peer. They are men of principle, at least in matters not involving their national interest. They are characteristically just and judicious, having innate respect for justice and equity. The immense love they bear to their mother-land is not to be easily recounted. Though politically ousted from them, for patriotic considerations they desire to keep an economic hold over the Asian and African countries. Nothing is too difficult for these wonderful people. They would be prepared to undertake the impossible for the sake of their country. Had they suitable deserts of their own, they would have pumped the oil-rich Middle Eastern countries dry in order to fill their own wells. All their energies are expended in diverting the wealth of the whole world to the Bank of England. There was a time before World War II when the sun never set on the British Empire, which spread over vast areas of all the five continents. But tables were turned on them after the war. In spite of being one of the victors, Britiain lost her influence and power in the gamble. Yet she is still one of the Five Great powers in the United Nations Organisation. Moreover, for all practical purposes Great Britian and the United States of America are as one nation: they have common political front, common views and common interests. In industrial and scientific fields Great Britain is till a force to be reckoned with.

BRITISH RULERS OF MY TIME: In the days of my youth Queen Victoria was the Queen of Great Britain. She was a noble and God-fearing lady. Her son, King Edward the Seventh, succeeded her, but did not live long. King George the Fifth was crowned after his father. He earned a great name as a magnanimous person. Allowed a pretty long lease of life, he lived to celebrate the Silver Jubilee of his reign. His successor, King Edward the Eighth, abdicated in order to marry Mrs. Simpson, the lady he loved. Among all British sovereigns he has the unique reputation of being a lover who cared more for a woman than the British throne. Now a Duke, he has already seen many years of happy married life and in all likelihood will see many more; though Lord Boldwin, his opponent, has long been in the grave. King George the Sixth replaced his brother. As he had no male issue, after him his daughter acceded to the throne of the United Kingdom as Queen Elizabeth the Second, and is now the reigning monarch. She is the second Queen of my time. I am afraid both I and the British monarchy have entered the last stage of our existence together.

NEIGHBOURING STATES.

CHITRAL : Chitral is a contiguous state, 4000 square miles in area, and populated by one and a half lac people. It was a centre of Buddhist civilisation at the time of Alexander's invasion. In the sixteenth century, Afghans converted it to Islam. The ruling family of Chitral traces its descent from the great Tartar conqueror of Asia, Amir Timur, better known as Timur the Terrible for his acts of heartless brutality. He was also the founder of the Mughal dynasty of India. My respected mother came of the royal family of Chitral and her father, Aminal Mulk, was the ruler of the State in 1891. His eldest son, Nizamul Mulk,

used to live in Gilgit. When my grandfather died, probably of the poison administered to him, his second son, in league with the British, supplanted Nizamul Mulk and became the Mehtar himself. Sher Afzal, a brother of Aminul Mulk, residing at Badakhshan, attacked the State and killed the new Mehtar. On the instigation of the British, the Chitralis opposed Sher Afzal and drove him out to Dir Kohistan. Nizamul Mulk was now invited from Gilgit to fill the vacancy. While out on a hunt, Nizamul Mulk was murdered in 1895 by his brother, Shujaul Mulk, who declared himself the ruler. He sought the friendship of the British. The same year Sher Afzal, in alliance with Khan Umara Khan of Bajaur, marched on Chitral and conquered it. But Shujaul Mulk continued to be the Mehtar. It was during his time that the hereditary title of 'His Highness' was conferred on the ruler of Chitral. Nasirul Mulk, the eldest son of Shujaul Mulk, succeeded his father in 1936. Seven years later in 1943, Muzaffar-ul-Mulk followed him as the next Mehtar. When he died in 1949, Prince Saifur Rehman, took his place. This youthful ruler of Chitral was unfortunately killed in an air crash, while flying to Chitral from Peshawar. The Heir-Apparent being a minor, the State is governed by an Administrative Council.

DIR: The State of Dir is our nearest neighbour. Its area is 3,000 square miles and population over six hundred thousand. Mutual ties of attachment have existed between us and the rulers of Dir for quite some time. They are the descendants of Mulla Ilyas, more famous as *Ikhwan Baba*. Ghulam Khan was the first of his line who mustering strength became the Khan of Dir. He was followed by his son, Rahmatullah Khan, then by his grandson, Sharif Khan. I was still a child when Khan Umara Khan of Bajaur invaded Dir in 1890, and forced Sharif Khan to seek shelter in Swat. But Khan Umara Khan overreached himself

by marching on Chitral in 1895. The British made Sharif Khan the Nawab of Dir, notwithstanding the fact that he was friendly with the Afghan government and Khan Umara Khan was all for them. After the Nawab, his son, Aurangzeb Khan, ruled over the State till 1925. It was he who several times arrayed his forces in the battle-field againt us. Ever since the death of his father, Crown Prince Shah Jahan reigned as the Nawab.*

TANAWALI STATE OF AMB: To the south of Swat and Dependencies is the State of Amb, inhabited by the Tanawali tribe of the Afghans. It comprises 225 square miles with an approximate population of fifty thousand. From the time I was eight years old Muhammad Khan remained the Nawab of Amb up to 1907. His son, Khan Zaman Khan, ruled till 1936. He was responsible for despatching the force which fought with us at Chamla in 1926, but was repulsed. The Heir-Apparent Muhammad Farid Khan, an exile during his father's time, was subsequently made the Nawab. He is still alive but the State has been taken over by the Pakistan Government.

The inhabitants of Swat, Dir and Amb are Pathans and speak Pashto; but Chitralis belong to a somewhat different race and have a language of their own. All the four states acceded to Pakistan at the time of the Partition.

MIANGUL ABDUL WADUD,
Founder of Swat and First Ruler.

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* Late in 1960, he was deposed and replaced by his son, Shah Khusro Khan. The former Nawab's second son Shahab Uddin Khan, who administrated the pleasant land of Jandool wrested from Khan Umara Khan after his defeat by the Biritish and annexed to Dir to form an integral part of the State, has also been relieved of his authority.